

PEACE NEWS

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Russia's one and only aim: Parity with USA

TO be politically discriminating is to be called "anti" something or other. It was difficult enough before the late war to make a calm assessment of Germany's rights and wrongs without being labelled pro- or anti-Nazi according to the company one was in.

Expressed abhorrence of concentration camps in 1936 brought one into collision with those who believed, quite honestly and fervently, that the Germany of that date could have been wooed and won by kindness and sympathy. Much more could, perhaps, have been done, but I seem to remember the sternest admoni-

COMMENTARY

by

LLEWELLYN CHANTER

tions in the House of Commons concerning what was called "interference in the internal affairs of other nations." That, indeed, was being very kind to Hitler. And our kindness as a nation became even more apparent as time drew near to 1939.

Tragic similarity

IN many ways the political atmosphere is similar to that of the years immediately before the last war. Too tragically similar. Those who are at pains today to paste labels of the "pro" and "anti" kind on all and sundry, as if prejudice rather than knowledge and experience formed the foundation of judgment, are abroad to hinder understanding.

As a nation we have no sound reasons either for hating or loving the Russians. It is true that the course of international policy over many years has brought us into conflict with them. But so it has with the French, the Americans, the Japanese, the Spaniards and with practically every other nation under the sun. And so it will until the world determines to live under conditions of sanity.

Then why is it that today we are experiencing this antagonism? The answer, partially, is to be found in the extent to which the rulers of Soviet Russia interpret their mission in the world and, therefore, interfere in the internal affairs of other nations.

Mr. Stalin's reply

JUST recently Mr. Stassen, candidate for the American presidency, had a talk with Mr. Stalin. Nothing, it seems, could have been more friendly. To the question: "Can the two economic systems (meaning Communist and Capitalist) live together in the same world in harmony?" Mr. Stalin replied, "They do exist together, they have existed together, and America and Russia didn't wage war with each other."

Then why, one might well ask, is America so agitated about the growth of Communism within the United States. Why is she granting large sums to Turkey and Greece which, according to President Inonu, the former is going to use almost exclusively for military purposes? Why is France being divided into

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

TO MOTHERS EVERYWHERE

by FRIDA LANGE-DUDLER

This translation from the Hamburger Freie Press came to us from an English mother, who wrote:

"Could you possibly spare a small space in Peace News to publish the enclosed appeal to mothers. It was translated into English for me by a young German prisoner; one of several who live in a camp near our home, whom my husband and I have befriended."

"My heart goes out in sympathy to their mothers as I know only too well what the longing for dear ones means. I lost my own two dear sons in the war; just two fine lads, very similar to the German boys. I am certain that had my boys lived and met them, they would have been good friends with similar tastes and ideas."

What mother could not quote similar experiences? For a mother does not feel any restraint or timidity towards another.

Even if she were in a foreign country, whether it be with Negroes or Chinese, whose language she does not know, she would soon bring about an understanding, inwardly as well as outwardly, with any of them. There is a secret bond, which includes them all, to be found in the word "mother," which in nearly every language has the same initial letter and sound. There burns a flame within all of them which makes them strong to surrender and sacrifice themselves for the new life. A love is growing within them which encloses the new life and all that is weak and needy, wanting to maintain it. This motherly merciful love has for long years been in danger of becoming extinct.

BRANDED AS A CRIME

This war has created an entire revaluation of all values, has branded as a crime the most sacred ethical conceptions of truth, humanity, justice and Christian principles, which in the course of time have been developed among mankind—not only in our own country—and which today still confuses and darkens the human mind. And yet—in spite of inexpressible crimes and inhuman deeds—the original fire of love could not be destroyed and the flame of pure compassion could also not entirely be extinguished even in our country. Time and again faithful and courageous souls have dared to kindle and stir up the sparks in secrecy, despite death and persecution.

Mothers all over the world! That this fire may become pure and clear again is our task; that this love be fulfilled again in its true sense is our aim.

This love in its true interpretation does not know any borders drawn by human minds. It stretches over mountains and oceans, through woods and deserts, from nation to nation.

DEATH TO LOVE

It is impossible that this love could approve of or agree to war, no matter in which form and intention it may be waged. It has to reject and condemn it because war means death to this love.

Mothers all over the world! The war ceased two years ago. It ceased for all of you, but not for us German mothers. Our sons have not yet returned. Millions have not yet returned. And why? Did they not do their duty like all the soldiers of other countries? No more and no less. But they did not come back to their homes. They still carry the bitter fate of captivity.

Imprisoned like outcasts and criminals behind barbed wire, they stand at night under the starry sky with burning eyes following the direction of their homes; their tears drop unseen on to the cold earth. They dig in foreign mines surrounded by darkness, inwardly and outwardly, and no love and no joy is there for them to give them back their sense of life. They are being punished for deeds they have not conjured up, for numbers of them were only grown out of childhood when the inexorable war called them. They are losing their belief in justice now. They are being detained with hopes and promises of their repatriation, but months and years pass by and the number of prisoners is diminishing only by a fraction. They are losing their belief in veracity, and they go on waiting.

Mail from home is the very last straw they catch at to cheer their tired hearts. But this mail very often fails to appear for weeks, and in some countries for months. There

are prisoners who since the end of the war could not even write once, and who do not even know whether their relatives, with whom their thoughts dwell day and night, are still alive. Therefore they are losing their belief in humanity. Leading men have debated this, organisations and parties have raised protests, and churches have held services of petition, but none of these voices have been strong enough or so penetrating as to reach the ears of authoritative statesmen.

Mothers all over the world! Let your voice of compassion be heard. For six years the fatal war continued and two more years of penance and waiting have been imposed on us. Our hair has become grey and our hearts are clouded by grief for our beloved sons. Yes, they live. But the endless waiting is torment-

ing. Hunger is destroying us and the cold is taking our remaining strength. There is not much time left for us. Shall we be able to bear up as long as that, until we see our beloved sons again?

TELL STATESMEN THIS

You, mothers of those nations which are now passing judgment upon us, you feel our anguish. Perhaps your voice may find access to the hearts of your statesmen.

Tell them this, and this only. The mothers of Germany have only one thought and desire: once again, as in happier days, to put their arms protectively around their returned dear ones, and once again to hear from the lips of their beloved sons the word "MOTHER."

UNITED EUROPE

The significance of the Albert Hall meeting

by CORDER CATCHPOOL

NO doubt readers of Peace News were puzzled when in mid-January the United Europe Committee made its debut, featuring Mr. Churchill as chairman and including amongst its members Mr. Amery, Mr. George Gibson, Mr. Lionel Curtis, Mr. Victor Gollancz, Lord Lindsey, Dr. Mallon, Professor Gilbert Murray, Lord Russell, and other personalities from a cross-section of eminent British public life. The circle is completed with Mr. Duncan Sandys as hon. secretary, Mr. Churchill's son-in-law.

After a period of four months' incubation, the movement has now hatched out, and made its first loud "cheep" at the Albert Hall on May 14. I have been present at four or five well-attended public meetings there within the past few months, but none crowded out like this United Europe rally. Even after it had begun, the spacious approaches to the hall were teeming, and long queues were standing without prospect of admission.

Any readers present probably came away as puzzled as before.

On leaving the hall I was invited to hand in my envelope with membership application form. Firmly I answered "No," but added, "I must think about it."

Credit for good faith

A friend sitting next to me had said that it all rang a bit hollow; another who was present told me that he felt like leaving the meeting in disgust.

When I think of some of the personalities whom I esteem so highly, sitting on the platform, I do not feel able to take so cynical a view. I must give them credit for good faith. "Europe Arise!" was the slogan in great letters above the speakers. One thought of Edward Carpenter's "England Arise"; also of Hitler's "Deutschland Erwache." Which way Europe?

Was this meeting the birth of an epoch-making movement that might change the course of history—or a flash in the pan shortly to fizzle out? I give it the benefit of the doubt.

The Archbishop of Canterbury presided, remarking as did several other speakers on the diversity of the platform but suggesting there was no diversity of creed, for all subscribed to one credo, the unity of a new Europe with Germany a partner, as essential to world recovery and peace.

Then came Churchill. The Press marked its evaluation of the meeting's significance by a quite unwonted allocation of space. Many papers devoted leading articles to it in addition to long reports.

But with one accord they stared Churchill almost to the exclusion of

the other speakers. Although, with the Chairman, there were seven of them, The Times says in a footnote to its report: "The speech is reported on p. 3." (my italics)—where one column and a quarter is devoted to Churchill, and one inch and a half (at the end) to the Archbishop. All the rest simply did not run. This, in view of all the noble sentiments expressed by many of them, gives one to think.

Gollancz made his great appeal for the sacredness of human personality as the supreme good, stressing with other speakers the urgent need that Germany be re-integrated into a restored Europe—impossible without her. But from the Archbishop onwards, throughout the meeting, Churchill was hailed as Savior of Europe, the man to whom civilisation owes an overwhelming debt, and more of the like, which I find irreverently characterised in my notes as war-bulge.

United Europe. Of course everybody was to come in.

But the packed audience were all black-coated intelligentsia. The "interest of the broad totalitarian masses" was invoked, but where were they?

Tainted?

The totalitarian Soviet Colossus, always being hinted at, hardly referred to openly, is of course welcome too, if willing to come. But when the Movement was first launched last January the Daily Worker wrote: "The Soviet Union according to them is not part of Europe, though the British Commonwealth is well inside."

I can believe that power-politics were far from the thoughts of at least some of the eminent sponsors; but the question is: Will the movement be regarded as free from the taint in other quarters?

"United Europe?" says "Our Alfie" in the Daily Worker, looking up at Churchill on the platform, "Guess who e's united against?"; and the paper daily comments that "London's Albert Hall has been the scene of much worthier gatherings."

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PEACE NEWS

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All correspondence on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE

OUR comments, last week, on an article by Kathleen Bliss in The Christian News-Letter, led us to the conclusion that "the obligation of the Christian is, first of all, not merely to refuse, but to insist 'that the nation should refuse to participate in another war, and therefore logically disarm and abandon conscription'—whatever the probable consequences."

This conclusion seemed unavoidable on Kathleen Bliss's own premises. We find ourselves, however, in complete agreement with her when she stresses the necessity of pacifists advancing their case against conscription on its own merits, and not mixing moral objections to war with "dubious political arguments." We have to be constantly on our guard against "popular ignorance, lethargy, individual and sectional selfishness, and political irresponsibility," which, as she points out, "all play a part in the ultimate decision taken by the nation on conscription." Though this must not deter us from advancing our case at all, since no argument—and least of all the argument for armed defence—is proof against such equivocal support, it should deter us from soft-peddling the "probable consequences" of military weakness.

In particular, we have to avoid justifying pacifism by the necessity of averting war: for, after all, what distinguishes the pacifist from every other kind of peace-maker is precisely his attitude once war has begun. Nothing is an argument for pacifism that would not have been valid in August, 1940.

Policies designed to avert war have to be debated on their own merits. But the problem before those who reject the idea of "peace at any price" is not merely that of averting war, but of averting the kind of peace which, judged by our criterion, may be as bad as war—totalitarian peace, "the peace of a vast prison-house." For the pacifist, therefore, this problem is to some extent simplified. Since the threat of wholesale extermination poisons, he believes, the very springs of the Good Life, he can hardly support or sanction one scheme, at any rate, for ending war as we know it—the supernatural atomic policeman.

As it happens, however, the longer we examine that scheme, the more impracticable it appears. Granted that the international army, in charge of a stock-pile of atom-bombs, does not develop such solidarity that it will be tempted to hold the world up to ransom, there will always be the possibility of one State seizing control of this stock-pile through its representatives on the international army.

Such loop-holes are bound to appear, and they are bound to appear to the Russians, who know how great are the forces making for aggression in the capitalist economy of America. Therefore, even though the exclusive possession of the atom-bomb by America puts them at so great a disadvantage, the Russians "will never play"; or rather, they will only play for time, in the knowledge that, once they have mastered the secret, their own vast territory and jealously hidden reserves will turn the advantage to them.

It is impossible for a Communist to believe in capitalist good faith. Indeed, it is hard to see how anyone conversant with the Marxist mentality could expect the Baruch Plan to win Russian support, without which, of course, it is futile.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endleigh St., W.C1

It does not surprise us, therefore, that in several European countries a different solution is being proposed. In France, Austria and Germany alike, organisations have sprung up for the propagation of peace through neutrality, if need be through unilateral disarmament (as distinct from mere military weakness). In France, this viewpoint is represented by the weekly, *Ce qu'il faut dire*; in Austria and Germany by the *Osterreichische und Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft*. These are not pacifist bodies. They are not concerned with what their members would do if war came; their concern is the prevention of war: and they have advanced cogent arguments for believing that this could be effected, with less sacrifice of liberty than otherwise, through the adoption of disarmed neutrality.

We believe these arguments deserve study. And we wonder why in England, which stands to lose so much by war, and even preparation for war, there exists no equivalent movement? Perhaps it is because, over here, the same arguments have so often been advanced in the name of pacifism—as though they implied conscientious objection (or conscientious objection implied them)?

But, if such a movement did come into being, we ourselves would feel strongly tempted to give it our allegiance, in the absence of anything more hopeful. For, though we believe the establishment of a moral authority, the equivalent of a Church, to be the one indispensable need of the age, and the pacifist movement to be potentially such an authority, we are not indifferent to the importance of averting war. Within the limitations which pacifism prescribes, the Christian, in particular, should "do everything in his power to avert war." And some pacifists who are politically inclined might—so cogent are the arguments in its favour—find this policy more promising than those of World Unity or the Fourth International, which seem doomed to failure from the start by a Power over which we have no control.

PN has too political a flavour, and too "bitty" a make-up. Pacifism cannot be sold to the public like a patent medicine, and pacifists are not, by virtue of their stand, necessarily good political advisers. . . . PN should, in my opinion, live up to its name (which cannot be bettered) and give news of peace moves and movements throughout the world, supported by well-informed (not 'authoritative') articles, reiterating again and again the simple truths about the use of violence, whether by the individual or the group, the nation or the alliance of nations. . . . The only way to peace for ever is by a change of heart amongst the people, capitalists, cockneys, clerks, the common people and the best people—all people. Print that message and keep on printing it as long as you live, and if PN dies, it will be a hero's death.

G. S. COOPER.

Reduce the size to four pages. It is only too evident that in order to fill the present six, the editor is having to publish a certain amount of inferior material. This damages the rest of the paper, and drives readers away. Four pages are enough to contain what is urgent, vital and essential.

PAUL SPENCER.

I would like to add my voice to those who are suggesting a better quality of paper for PN. It is pretty ragged by the time it reaches this distance. Also, would it be too bold to suggest a change of format? Something after the style of the 'digest' magazines. The present form is awkward,

Democracy by order

ONE of the war-time agreements upon which the Big Three are still united is the democratisation of Germany and Japan. Under this, the Russians held elections in their Zone some time ago, and the British have just held theirs.

In the British Zone the Social Democrats have emerged as the largest party, with a poll of thirty-seven per cent of the total, but with all the parties of the Left totalling only forty-four per cent of the votes cast; in the Russian Zone the results showed plain victory for communists and near-communists.

As for Japan, there also the Social Democrats have increased their strength in elections held practically simultaneously with those of the British Zone of Germany. They had ninety-nine seats in the Lower House before the elections, and now have a hundred and forty-three. But a Japanese Liberal would be considered a Conservative in most other countries, and a Japanese Social Democrat is a mildly progressive sort of Liberal.

A moderate course

General McArthur has congratulated the Japanese population on its choice of a "moderate course sufficiently centred from either extreme to ensure the preservation of freedom, and the enhancement of individual liberty," though independent observers express doubt whether the election result will produce a government willing and competent to regenerate the country and save it from social and economic disaster. To explain their pessimism, I must add that the yen has recently fallen from fourpence to a penny, and, more recently still, to a farthing. A year ago, the total of communist votes had been a million, producing six seats. Now the communists hold four.

The results of all these elections are supposed to show that the enemy countries are progressing towards a sane democratic attitude. But they also coincide with every cynic's expectation: that both Germans and Japanese would vote the way they thought their conquerors would like best. You can take a horse to the water, but cannot make it drink; you can give people voting bulletins, but can neither force them to take a genuine interest in your election, nor conjure away within a few years the impulse to cast their vote for men and parties known to be particularly acceptable to higher authority.

Totalitarianism, monarchy, auto-

cracy, aristocracy and democracy are terms which, rightly, should mean the same thing to all. But they do not; and it is only because they do not that the masses of America, Britain and Russia could be brought together in an alignment against Germany, Italy and Japan which was, for a time, accepted as not merely military, but also political, moral and spiritual. It might have been better not to have claimed a common conception of democracy. We should then have been spared the present

by

ROY SHERWOOD

moral discouragement resulting from the fierce dispute on that subject between Russia and America, with Britain in full agreement with neither.

To say that Soviet democracy is economic, and Western democracy is political, is right but superficial. To get at the truth we must remember that things which were aggressively democratic fifty years ago are reactionary to-day; that the term Socialist was practically libellous when those who are middle-aged now were born; that social behaviour which is normal in England is called undemocratic in both America and Russia; that many American laws strike other nations as undemocratic; that the most democratic institution of the most democratic country in the world—the national referendum of Switzerland—has been used by most dictators to get themselves into power, and to rob the people of their democratic rights.

What then, is democracy? Plainly, it is not something rigid and unchanging, except at its very foundation, which is respect for the sanctity of the individual, and the recognition of his right to equal opportunities irrespective of his social origin. But it is also, unfortunately, something of a luxury to be gained, maintained or lost with a nation's ascending or descending fortunes. It is always the first casualty at the outbreak, even at the threat, of war. In its entirety it is also something which only one or two small countries, and none of the Big Three, can be said to have as yet attained. If they, or any two of them, go to war over their different interpretations of it, they will be fighting for the survival of something that is so far from being perfect (in all their cases) to make their struggle pathetically ridiculous. And as far as Germany and Japan are concerned, democracy is also something which they will never attain by forceful imposition from the outside.

READERS' VIEWS ON PEACE NEWS

and not at all convenient for passing round among friends, nor taking along to read on trains or trams—nor is its appearance the least bit impressive. Please understand there is no fault found with the contents.

(Mrs.) GRACE KNIGHT.

Although of middle-age, reasonably well educated, by profession a Commercial representative to a London Printing house, with a fair knowledge of things in general, I just cannot comprehend the political phraseology and the obscure words used in your articles. The reading of PN is to me, just a painful duty, something to be over and done with, as quickly as possible. Examples from this week's (May 9) issue are the opening heading of "Europe after the Moscow Conference," and the opening sentences of "Mine and Thine"—how does one "consolidate entrenched positions," and what is "Russia's intransigence?" . . . My suggestions are:—1. Editorial; 2. Commentary on

world events (in plain English); 3. Pacifist news from all quarters (brief paragraphs); 4. Weekly Film and Theatre review; 5. Biography of pacifist personalities (weekly series); 6. Gramophone, Music and Book review; 7. Religious article; 8. Short story—(preferably humorous); 9. Cartoon (not political); 10. Housewife's and children's column; 11. Radio's choice for pacifists (weekly selections); 12. Gardening and Nature notes; 13. Holiday guide, descriptive articles and photos; 14. Miscellaneous—notes—meetings—adverts, etc.

H. COLLINSON.

(Other letters on page six).

Readers' Digest

the ideas from which their convictions are formed in your local library's Reading Room. Are they assimilating "peace and goodwill"—or war and mistrust? Do they grapple the problems of peaceful society—or tattle the gossip of a piecemeal one?

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Words of Peace - No. 211

THE FIT RETURN

"Undoubtedly, no person can be truly dishonoured by the act of another; and the fit return to make to the most enormous injuries is kindness and forbearance, and a resolution to convert the injurer from his dark passions by peace and love. Revenge, retaliation, atonement, are pernicious mistakes."

—Percy Bysshe Shelley, Preface to "The Cenci."

CHINA IN THE THROES (1)

IT is because I hope to be working for international amity that I came to China a year ago as a member of the Friends' Ambulance Unit.

This organisation, originally a British relief group in War I, was re-organised by British pacifists in War II, and in addition to the work at home in England they sent units to various parts of Europe, North Africa and the Near East. Six years ago the China convoy, drawn mainly from Britain, was organised. It was recognised as alternative service and supported (maintenance and transportation) by the British Government. Also a group of about 30 Canadians, and 15 New Zealanders, have been members, but only 25 Americans, because of inability to get past Congress' rule outlawing overseas relief for C.O.'s.

They found the primary need was not for ambulance teams, but for truck drivers to get drugs distributed to civilian hospitals in Free China. The FAU is credited with more than 75 per cent. of this medical distribution. We did have some mobile units, and did emergency work with wounded and sick soldiers near the front, staffed a couple of small hospitals, and undertook to do public health work wherever epidemics broke out. Of course, what was done was just a drop in the bucket in comparison with the needs, but it was about the only drop in the bucket, so made quite a big impression.

The most urgent need

After the close of the war, it seemed the most urgent need was for hospital rehabilitation in Honan Province, which was the worst hit by the war and the Yellow River flood. It was a chance to combine the mechanical skills of some members with the medical and nursing skills of others and this stage of the work is about closed. We rehabilitated three mission hospitals and sent a few persons to half a dozen others to help with some particular need, either medical or mechanical.

At the present there are more incoming recruits from the US than from Britain, and the whole picture of new members is subject to change

The following observations by Kay H. Beach, a member of the Friends' Ambulance Unit in China, are taken from a letter written at Nanking on March 13 of this year to the War Resisters' League in New York.

without notice, depending on what happens to conscription in the U.S. and Britain.

We are carrying on a kala-azar eradication campaign in Honan, trying to get a disease free area and then gradually work out, enlarging the circle. Curing a few cases here and there saves lives, but makes no impression on the situation, as a whole—hence this new public health approach which seems to be working out pretty well.

At Chungmou, a small town on the railroad halfway between Kaifeng and Chengchow, we have been setting up an area rehabilitation project, which hopes to develop a co-ordinated programme for the agricultural, industrial, health and educational rehabilitation of the area. Work is under way in the organisation of co-

operatives for spinning, weaving, stock breeding, improved agricultural seeds, etc. We expect to have work here for at least five years with the hope that the results will justify other areas and groups putting the same sort of thing into practice. We try to bring in a fresh approach and are willing to experiment where large ponderous organisations are unwilling to take large scale risks before some pioneer has gone ahead. We know our resources are limited, but don't mind taking the risks of attempting the untried if we have reasonable hope of success for the venture.

In Yen-an

A number of persons have been seconded to other organisations, where it seemed a particularly qualified individual could accomplish more than in the FAU projects.

I was loaned to CNRRA for agricultural rehabilitation work for the first ten months I was in China and was withdrawn on Feb. 1 to be sent to Yen-an, the Communist capital in Northern Shensi to try to help with their agricultural experiment station.

Since Dec. 1, the FAU has had a medical team of six there: two doc-

tors, two nurses, a laboratory technician, and an X-ray man. These hoped to use their time in instructional work, for great as is the need for curative medicine, it is realised that the basic need is for trained doctors, nurses and technicians. Our people are handicapped by insufficient language but are managing with the help of interpreters.

Above the struggle

The FAU is strictly non-partisan in its work and had for years wanted to have at least some token work going on in the Communist areas, for we feel as long as there are conflicting sides we should divide our forces and do what we can toward reconciliation. What we can do isn't much, but at least we can maintain a reputation for being above the struggle and trying to help better conditions wherever there is need (and that is everywhere in China).

(Next week Kay Beach discusses the political position and prospects in China.)

STATEMENT ON INDIA

THE British Centre for Colonial Freedom, believe that the Government, in fixing a date for the ending of British authority in India, has done much to make good relations possible between the British and the Indian people in the future. We hope, therefore, that this decision will be carried out completely and generously, and that nothing will be allowed to postpone it.

We recognise that India's internal differences can only be adjusted by herself. Looking at the nationalist leaders' record of political action, we see no reason to doubt that they will adjust them with equity. For the British Parliament to try to guide or control their decisions would betray an over-anxiety, far more likely to increase difficulties than to remove them. It can give more effective help by showing full confidence in them. To do this, it should in the interim period recognise an Indian Government as *de facto*, independent and responsible to the Indian people, who must ultimately become the source of its authority.

We urge the Government:

(1) That between now and June, 1948, the existing government of India should be treated as a *de facto* independent government with full powers in which the Viceroy's place shall correspond to that of the Governor-General in any of the Dominions; and

(2) That it should be made indisputably clear that the Constituent Assembly, membership of which is open to all sections of the people, is fully empowered to decide the future form of India's government for all Provinces (present or revised) and States whose people accept this authority; that neither the Cabinet Mission's original proposals nor the Viceroy's veto will be used to set limits to that power; and that, if it succeeds in drafting an agreed constitution before June, 1948, that constitution shall immediately become the basis of the new government (or governments) of India, which will be invested with the full powers now held by the British Government. In this way, we think that the transference of power, which is perhaps the most difficult operation in history, may be carried out with mutual goodwill, with the least possible uncertainty, and consequently with the least possible disturbance of everyday life for the Indian people.

FENNER BROCKWAY (Chairman),
DINAH STOCK (Secretary).

6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

A CASE FOR PACIFISM

THERE are in this country hundreds of Roman Catholics who are pacifists. There are in the world numbers of bishops and priests of the Catholic church who openly support pacifism. It is not true to say that a Roman Catholic cannot be a pacifist. But a Catholic who is a pacifist has to mind his "p's and q's" and that is a very good thing for pacifism in general. He has got to make sure that his pacifist beliefs square with the teaching of the Church. He cannot base his pacifism on sentimental amiability or on his own interpretation of particular texts.

For the Roman Catholic, the authority of the Church is absolute. I do not say the authority of individual bishops or priests: as men they may err, and their title to obedience is relative. But the authority of the Church is that of Christ. For the Catholic it is almost true to say that Christ is the Church and the Church is Christ.

There is a negative aspect of pacifism and a positive. On the negative side there is the conscientious objection to war. The Roman Catholic cannot be an absolute pacifist, for the Church's teaching would seem to be that on occasion force may be used in self-defence or other just cause. There may be times when a man has a right to fight, sometimes even a duty, and again times when he has

a higher duty to refuse to fight.

The Roman Catholic believes that it is a sin to take part in an unjust war. A just war is roughly one that fulfils the following conditions. It must be entered upon for a just cause, e.g., in self-defence. It must be conducted in a just manner, e.g., not aimed against non-combatants. There must be a reasonable expectation that the outcome of the war will show an excess of good gained over evil suffered.

Let me take only these three points, though theologians enumerate and amplify many others. The Roman Catholic who refuses the title of pacifist maintains (1). In recent wars our cause has been just and in any case the judgment must rest with the responsible government which alone knows all the facts. (2). Our conduct of war is honourable and the incidental suffering of non-combatants is unintended. Hatred and lying propaganda are not peculiar to war, and, after all, some say, in modern warfare there are no non-combatants. And (3). Our honour is at stake, and our liberty, our Christian way of life, our very existence is threatened.

But the Roman Catholic pacifist refuses to take part in war, which he now regards as sinful, because (1). He doubts the sufficient justice of our cause and distrusts the moral judgment of secular governments. (2). He sees that in war to-day, any means, however ruthless are used to gain an end. And (3). He sees as he predicted, that there is more suffering and evil in the world as a result of war than there was before, or would have been if war had not been resorted to.

A Catholic viewpoint by Dr. Cecil Gill

So much for the negative aspect. The Catholic church has a positive contribution which is ultimately more important. Pacifism is inherent in the teaching and activity of the Church, because her Lord and master is himself the 'way of peace,' and his word and work will not be fulfilled unless her children tread faithfully in that path. This is the way of renunciation and sacrifice, perhaps at the cost of what the world calls honour and with the loss of both personal and national liberty. We are taught to seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, and the defence of our country must be subordinate to that aim.

What would seem to distinguish the Roman Catholic pacifist from other Christian pacifists is his acknowledgment of the theoretical possibility of a just war. I imagine that the non-Christian pacifist attitude is based mainly on utilitarian or economic grounds which, though sound enough within their limits, for the Roman Catholic are of secondary importance. For practical purposes the R.C. pacifist is in line with all other Christian pacifists, and shares with them the positive doctrinal basis derived from the teaching of Jesus Christ. War, in so far as it merely implies the use of force to resist evil, may be undertaken, but only with strict regard to the dictates of justice and charity in the method and the means. What makes a Roman Catholic a pacifist to-day is the conviction that he has never seen and cannot conceive in the modern world, the possibility of a war begun, continued and ended in a manner that could satisfy his instructed conscience that he can take part in it without sin.

FOR AIDS COLOUR-BAR CAMPAIGN IN U.S.

A NEW experiment in non-violence was carried out in April by an inter-racial group travelling in the Southern U.S. The basis of their tests was a Supreme Court decision of June, 1946, which ruled out State laws requiring racial segregation in-so-far as these were applied to inter-state travellers.

These "jimcrow" laws required Negroes to be seated together at the rear of buses (or trains), and the recent tests showed that, despite the Supreme Court, bus companies are continuing the same policy with regard to seating arrangements.

The two-week trip through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky was sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and was participated in by sixteen young men, half of them Negroes.

The trip was divided into a series of 26 tests, and there were 12 arrests, including both Negroes and whites, for insisting on sitting in the "wrong" part of the bus. In one case, however, after reading the rules that whites are seated from the front and Negroes from the rear, the bus driver had the Negroes arrested but ignored the white men on the back seats. The cases so far disposed of have resulted in: one fine of \$10 (now on appeal), two sentences of 30 days with the road gang (not enforced pending appeal), and the release of three others immediately upon the arrival of their attorney following the arrests. A suit for false arrest has been filed in this case.

There was no violence from police, bus employees, or other passengers. The one really hostile situation arose in Chapel Hill, N.C., where the local taxi drivers, who had only hearsay reports about the four arrests there, became incensed and threatened the home of the white minister where they were sheltered. He was able to arrange for cars to take the group out of town. The only actual violence in the whole trip was one blow given by one of the cab-drivers to a white member of the group who went to phone a lawyer about the Chapel Hill arrests.

The general conclusions in the reports issued at the end of the trip indicate that the public is generally apathetic and that if the bus companies' rules were changed to conform with the Supreme Court decision, there would be general acceptance of a breakdown in the jimcrow pattern. It remains to be seen whether this would also be true in the deep South.

At stops along the way, members of the group addressed over 30 meetings. They report keen interest in the possibilities of non-violent techniques to change the social patterns in the direction of greater equality.

FRANCES ROSE RANSOM.

Christianity without Miracle

"The Rise of Christianity," by Ernest William Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham. Longmans, Green & Co., 15s. net.

THIS book, based very largely on the latest findings of critical scholarship as to the historicity of the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, is not merely a description of how, by their aid, Christianity came into being; it is also a prescription, which may not unfairly be described as a purgative—and a very drastic one in its operation, if it secured general acceptance among the Churches at large.

Its main thesis is that the miraculous elements on which Christian doctrine has been so largely based are, to say the least of it, inessential to true Christianity; that many of them are legendary and of doubtful authenticity, and that the time has come when they should no longer be made a test (and a stumbling block) to Christian belief.

It cannot be denied that throughout history nearly every religion one can name has relied for its credentials on portent and miracle; man has required of his Gods that they should prove themselves by material intervention, and interference with the laws of nature; and the desire for miracle was once so general and so rampant, that it is very doubtful whether any religion could have established itself in past ages, unless its followers had been provided by legend, hearsay, and a superstitious interpretation of the disturbances of nature, with the material then necessary for the confirmation of their faith.

It would be unreasonable to expect Christians, in the first century of our era, to have been immune from this weakness; and it may well be that Christianity would not have won through without the help of the many miracles recorded in the apocryphal gospels, and legends—some of them very beautiful—which have found their way into the accepted books of the New Testament. But even if we admit that these legends and miracles played a useful part in securing the survival of Christianity, when without the support of miracle it might have failed to win converts, neither can it be denied that the vast majority of sincere and intelligent Christians no longer require that the proof of Divinity should depend on any disturbance of the courses of nature, either in relation to birth, or death, or the movement of the heavenly bodies (as in the days of Joshua), or on visitations of climatic catastrophes (even of an extreme character) which fall alike on the just and on the unjust.

Man's relations with the Author and Finisher of his faith are now on a more healthy basis, less outward and physical, more inward and spiritual; and our ecclesiastical atavisms are gradually, though still slowly and with reluctance, losing their ancient hold on us. "Get rid of the miracles," declared Rousseau, "and the whole world will fall at the feet of Jesus Christ." We have not yet reached that stage of spiritual enlightenment: but we are nearer to it than when it was said nearly two hundred years ago; and for those who are able, as so many are now, to accept Christianity as a divinely revealed way of life without the backing of miracle, Dr. Barnes' exegesis will have no terrors and will arouse no moral reprobation. But there are others for whom such a book as this, written by a Bishop of the Church of England, will still be anathema.

On the failure of Christianity in the past to achieve intellectual freedom from the bondage of imposed dogma, and also as to his hopes for the future, Dr. Barnes writes:

"Much that was best in the Greek view of life finds no place in traditional Christianity. On the contrary, the free spirit of inquiry untrammelled by dead or dying orthodoxies, has been feared by Christian ecclesiastics and teachers, just as Hellenic beauty has often been shunned. Is it possible that a Christian humanism will yet emerge, preserving all that is best in Hebrew religion and Greek culture?"

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.



THE RELIGION OF ART

"An Infinity of Questions," by C. J. Eustace. Dennis Dobson, 8s. 6d.

"ARTISTIC experience of any kind," writes Mr. Eustace, "is the antithesis of mystical experience." The artist (i.e., the isolated introverted artist of today) plumbs the richness of himself and his own experience; the mystic is absorbed in contemplation of God, and for him it is agony "to have to return to the periphery of life, to occupy himself with phantasms and images." The book bears the subtitle: "a study of the Religion of Art and the Art of Religion in the lives of five women: Helen Foley, Katherine Mansfield, France Pastorelli, Elizabeth Liseur and St. Thérèse of Lisieux."

"The religion of art knows no true peace, no true rest." To achieve that, the artist must pass, as France Pastorelli did, "from what the philosopher calls one *habitus*, wherein she considers art to be the divine and the guiding light of her life, to another, wherein she sees it as of merely relative importance, by comparison with the spiritualization of the soul."

Mr. Eustace might have added (with acknowledgments to Coomaraswamy and Gell) that in any case the artist today has degenerated into being a "special kind of man," and the degree of a man's "specialness" is the measure of his departure from God. Religion unites; art separates. The aim of good living is to seek what we have in common; not to assert our uniqueness. Holiness is more possible when "every man is a special kind of artist, not the artist a special kind of man." The wisdom of Pascal, Aquinas and the rest, is the wisdom of the "common" and universal, not the unique and eccentric. Even today, in crisis (e.g., 1940), men seek communion (with each other if not with God); and ingrown intellectuals turn to such writers as Dickens and Trollope because of their "ordinariness." "Real life is meeting." We crave to meet.

Among the intelligentsia today, religion is fashionable. Novelists and poets, as such, have ceased to count. We read Eliot—because his poetry is a religious poetry; Kafka, because his novels are the parables of a "God-drunk" mystic; Kierkegaard, Maritain, Berdyaev, and so on. Does it mean anything more than a literary fashion? Are we humble enough to get away from the philosophising, the abstractions, the scholasticism which gives us intellectual prestige, and to abandon ourselves to God with the singleness and simplicity of a St. Thérèse? Or do we belong to the ilk Mr. Eustace describes in his courageous Epilogue:

They will speak of religion, of its necessity in education, of its "moral character," of its necessity, even, but they will not name the Name of Jesus Christ, and they will not bow before His Divinity. And in their hearts, they will attach no importance to the belief in a Personal God who determines the destiny of man, they will not believe in the mystical nature of Divine grace operating on the human will, and they will not believe in the immortality of the human soul.

Pascal said: "Learn of those who have been bound as you are . . ."

Follow the way by which they began, by making believe that they believed. . . Thus you will naturally be brought to believe, and will lose your acuteness." Ah! if we could but lose our "acuteness." The very thought prizes prayer from shut lips.

J. P. H.

Pass, Fiddler

"Not Only Music, Signora!" by Winifred Percival. John Sherratt & Son, 8s. 6d.

GRACIOUSNESS is the key-note of this story of a war-time invasion of Italian prisoner-of-war camps by a man, a woman and a violin. How welcome, and how sadly unfamiliar, this graciousness is to an English post-war reader makes it easy to believe in its power over sensitive music-loving Italians.

Born in Fiume of English parents, and having herself suffered virtual imprisonment during the first world-war, Winifred Percival was peculiarly equipped to enter into the feelings of the prisoners. And she did so to the point of persisting in her apparently hopeless task of persuading the authorities to let a woman into the camps. By the spring of 1944, her "invasion" had begun.

Italian prisoners in 1944 were spiritually isolated. Italy's position as an ally and yet not an ally (reflected in their own doubtful status as Co-operators), the uncertainty about the issue of the war for Italy (still a battlefield, made bizarre by the intricacies of Italian-Italian and German-Italian relations), the immense difference in temperament between Italians and Englishmen, accentuated by their difference as soldiers. ("Englishmen usually disparage us, even when the women smile . . ."), and between their climate and ours, all aggravated the fundamental loneliness of men separated from their womenfolk and their homes.

To share in the musical fellowship, the gaiety and spontaneous humour of a husband and wife perfectly attuned to each other, in the graciousness in fact that no war had been able to vitiate, must have been manna from heaven to those sojourners in a spiritual desert. And they were not slow to express their feelings about it.

At one camp in Scotland when, as usual, the prisoners were invited to join the Percivals in singing Italian songs, "they held on to their top notes as though each were a Caruso, and then they yelled their delight." And there is all Italy in the phrase with which they often epitomised their enjoyment: "la nostra bella lingua sulle labbra d'una donna."

The long-drawn-out repatriation, for many harder to bear than war-time, called more than ever before for the ministry of the Percivals, still patiently given in the leisure left to them as professional musicians. They had their reward in knowing that through them Italians had found "not only music" but freedom and peace.

CHRISTOBEL FOWLER.

The individual in Russia

"How Do You Do, Tovarish?" by Ralph Parker. Geo. Harrap & Co., 7s. 6d.

THERE was a time when the world's population seemed to consist of Russophiles and Russophobes (discounting that part of it which provides any given Gallup Poll with its percentage of "Don't-knows"). That this is not still the case, that there is a growing body of opinion in the country which tries to judge fairly of the Russian point of view, is partly due to the contributions to our knowledge of life in the Soviet Union made by volumes such as this one.

Polemic still raises its ugly, missile-inviting head, but not in this book. Some writers on matters Sovietical still type their manuscripts with, so to speak, their boxing-gloves on, but not Mr. Parker. It's quite a relief.

The book is the third and last in a series, the "Soviets and Ourselves," (its predecessors being "Landmen and Seafarers," and "Two Commonwealths"). It treats of the life of the individual in Russia, his education, both as child and adult, his relations with family, friends, and the community in general, his financial circumstances, his personal pride in Russian achievements over the last thirty years. Comparisons and contrasts are made with the pattern of our own mode of living, and a number of popular misconceptions cleared away.

It is essential to realise the speed of progress in the Union, to realise that the average Russian can point to the improved conditions that surround him as something in the making of which he has been directly concerned. This feeling of being a particle of a nation in rapid growth, of something immeasurably greater than himself, to which the Russian subordinates himself, and its profound influence on his life, is well illustrated by the following words spoken to Mr. Parker by a Russian friend:

"Since the Revolution our material conditions have been in constant flux . . . For us in the Soviet Union there is no normal life; for we are always moving, sometimes very fast, sometimes maddeningly slowly, towards something else. Our people are very confident . . . They are not afraid, because they are sure about the vital things, but they are intensely curious about what will come."

If there is one major criticism which might be levelled at this book, it is that the writer's direct experience appears to be limited to that part of the Union which one might call "the shop-window of Russian Socialism," i.e., European Russia. This, however, in view of the prevailing Soviet attitude towards visitors, and the book's object of trying in a reasonable compass to deal adequately with a part of Russian life, is probably to be expected. The object is achieved by carefully selected and lucidly arranged information in the letterpress, with the aid of photographs (which are not merely illustrative, but complementarily informative), and charts provided by the Isotype Institute, which are clear, condensed and charming; characteristics, indeed, of the whole of this very well-produced little book.

R. C. ROBERTS.

EPITAPH ON NUREMBERG

UNDER this title Montgomery Belgion has published his reflections on the notorious "trial" (Falcon Press, 3s.). Such was the nature of the Court, its terms of reference and the conduct of the "trial," that Mr. Belgion, in a sustained attack, could hardly fail to score heavily.

There are many wise observations in this book, and some quotations of great value. And yet my own total impression is one of complete disappointment. Here were a series of simple ethical issues which only needed clarification to explode the whole myth of "justice," which the victors of the war sought to create at Nuremberg. But instead of keeping to the essentials, Mr. Belgion deserts them, during the greater part of the book, in favour of legal and literary flourishes, with a quite unnecessary

amount of *tu quoque*, directed against Russia.

It is not difficult to demonstrate that other Powers were guilty of the crimes on the German charge sheet. It is easy to show that, if specific atrocities had been investigated by an impartial Court, grave accusations could have been made against individuals on both sides. But Mr. Belgion has gone well beyond this. He has accepted as final many *ex-parte* statements regarding alleged Russian atrocities, and allowed himself the use of expressions—with regard to Russia—that recall ominously the anti-German propaganda of the war years.

I make this criticism with diffidence, because I am no lover of the Soviet régime, and I realise that my criticism applies equally to much that has been written in this journal. But it

seems to me that "Epitaph on Nuremberg," written too late to influence British opinion when one fatal blunder was made, may help to plunge us into another.

Where Russia is concerned, Mr. Belgion is as prejudiced a judge as the judges of Nuremberg—and, like them, he shows little respect for the rules of evidence. An accusation, in his mind, is as good as a conviction—precisely the state of affairs which we saw in the Nuremberg "trial" itself, and those unrestrained attacks by the Press on the prisoners (who were branded as "criminals" before and during the legal farce). There is even the same self-righteousness that made Nuremberg possible; for Mr. Belgion, in his industrious search for Russian motives, neglects some hefty British beams that more modesty might have recalled.

R.R.

A WORLD FIT FOR PEOPLE TO LIVE IN

by HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

PERMANENT peace can never rest upon the basis of agreement between Governments. Furthermore, in any international security system which rests primarily upon the continual collaboration of proud and powerful Powers, justice will prevail only on those occasions when it coincides with expediency. Wars have often resulted from the fact that men are prone to consider injustice too high a price to pay for peace.

Right and wrong

The administration of justice frequently involves a choice between right and right. Many of the expedients to which statesmen are now being driven in their search for world security face us, however, with a choice between wrong and wrong. Of this nature is the question of boundary revision in Europe. In a region where boundaries between politically independent States cannot be drawn anywhere without causing injustice and misery to millions of human beings, even the best frontier is no better than a grey veil over a black outlook.

Similarly, to attempt to improve the United Nations Charter might seem like building a palace upon sands which had scarcely borne the weight of a tent. The world is confronted with a dilemma: whether to create a world-wide international organisation which cannot possibly be a government, or whether to create an international government which cannot at the outset be world-wide. The purpose of this article is to suggest that we do both. Attempts by the protagonists of either to discredit the other may lead to the rejection of each.

In the post-war world, divided whether we like it or not into at least three major and many lesser political blocs, dominated by governments which derive their powers from, and owe their allegiance to, separate communities, we shall need a table round which the interplay of power politics can proceed without bloodshed; across which the guns can be pointed without the triggers being pulled. The alternative to that table is the battlefield.

But any hope that the world can be peacefully and justly governed by a cartel of sovereign governments is as vain as to expect the government of Britain to preserve the peace of the Realm, if that "government" derived from an assembly of nominees of the County Councils, whose "laws" could not pass into effect until ratified by the 52 separate Councils, and if such "laws" even then did not act directly upon

individual citizens but only on and through the County authorities.

International law can never mean what it says until it operates directly upon individuals. Throughout history, attempts to coerce dissident powers have split the comity of nations into two—usually equal—camps, and led to wars whose outcome seldom bore much relation to the merits of the case, and which have inevitably punished the innocent with the guilty.

The weakness of the "United Nations" lies not so much in minor imperfections, for these would exist in any scheme propounded by fallible human minds. The fundamental principle on which it is based is false: it is not possible to govern governments, even by governments. Individual men and women are the only proper objects of government, and they are the only subjects from which an international authority can properly derive its powers.

An authority which ostensibly derives its powers from governments, finds in practice—as do all leagues—that in an emergency it is left with only duties and blame for failure to perform those duties, whilst the power indispensable for their performance remains in other hands! It follows therefore that the world community needs an elected parliament, to make binding personal law in purely international matters, whilst leaving the various national legislatures full power in their separate national spheres. Only thus can we ensure at the same time the safety and the independence of nations.

Not in our generation

Most idealists would agree with the realists that such an ideal can probably not be realised, in our generation, on a global scale, but we owe it to posterity to start the world in that direction. We must create forthwith a working model of the future international community, a "regional arrangement" which might prove to be the dynamic without which UNO will inevitably fail.

Such a working model could be created, for example, by the peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the countries of Western Europe, who in matters of safety and prosperity are so interdependent, and whose democratic mode of life provides the basis of mutual trust so necessary for such a step. In such a Union, each national community would have a minority share in the defence and foreign policy of the whole. The system should be open to all other like-minded nations to join as and when they are able and willing to accept the conditions.

From such an acorn will spring the oak that will shelter the Earth.

WAR OFFICE ADMITS COURT MARTIAL ERROR

FOR some time the case of Harry Harrison has been the outstanding one to engage the attention of the CBCO. After his application had been dismissed by the London Advisory Tribunal on Ap. 23 there seemed little that could be done to lighten the severity of his two years' detention, apart from a review of his sentence by the War Office.

19 DUTCH COs GET LONG SENTENCES

THE War Resisters' International learns that recently nineteen conscientious objectors who refused to be sent to Indonesia to fight in the Netherlands Government's Imperialist war have each been sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Our Dutch friends are energetically taking up the cases.

Many hundreds of young men, some of whom have not yet reached the point of refusing to take part in all warfare, have nevertheless, objected to being used as tools of the Government to suppress the desire for freedom of their Indonesian comrades.

Holland has a long history of persecution of those who have heroically resisted war. More than 1,000 young men have refused in recent years, and have been sent to prison. Their total sentences amount to over 1,000 years.

Readers are invited to send greetings to war resisters, whose names and addresses are given below:—

In the "Depot-en Detentiecamp," Nieuwersluis, Holland, the following objectors are detained under provisional arrest:—

Gerard v. d. Bijl, of Wormerveer; Klaas Veenstra, of Leeuwarden; Gerrit v. t. Hoff, of Koog a. d. Zaan; Dick Kooiman, of Andijk; Siem Kruyt, of Haarlem; Frans Lesthuis, of Hilaart; J. Nachtegaal, of Rotterdam; Ben Niesink, of Arnhem; Bert Pieper, of Groningen; A. E. Schilp, of Leiden; Rienus Smits, of Dr. Krim; Aart v. Voorst, of Apeldoorn; Gerrit de Werd, of Amsterdam; and Bob Westerveid, of Hilversum.

There are also M. Kaai, of N. Niedorp, at 1-XI-10 R.L. R. O. G. Kazerne Cel Alkmaar and D. W. Akkerman, of N. Niedorp, held at Kamp Prinsebos, gebouw 16, Gilsen (N.B.), Holland.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, May 22, 1937

A move toward economic co-operation with countries outside the British Empire must be made the foremost consideration of the Imperial Conference now meeting in London, if it is to repair the damage caused by decisions made at the Ottawa Conference in 1932.

According to a recent report in the Daily Herald, the soaring price of copper, the difficulty of obtaining steel—even at its present inflated price—and the increased cost of timber for poles, will retard the electrification of parts of the countryside for years.

—What War Means.

But the whole case came very much alive again when Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, received a letter from Mr. F. J. Bellenger, Secretary of State for War, in the course of which he made the following statements:

"I am sorry the wording of my letter was open to criticism owing to a misunderstanding of the precise effect of certain phrases used by my legal advisers. Private Harrison does come under the normal rule for conscientious objectors. It was unfortunate that he was given a sentence of detention and not one of imprisonment, but the Ministry of Labour and National Service agreed that he could appear before a tribunal, and this he did on Ap. 23."

"In Private Harrison's case the Court Martial did not consider that, as the crime was alleged to have been committed on grounds of political conscience, he would have been allowed to appear before a tribunal if they had awarded him a sentence of imprisonment instead of detention. This as I have explained is not the case, but nevertheless the Court acted within their jurisdiction and the sentence was legal..."

"REMIT THE SENTENCE"

Fenner Brockway replied in the following terms:

"I am very glad that you have now cleared up the misunderstanding about Harry Harrison and have agreed that he ought to have come under the normal rules for conscientious objectors. My regret is that this was not appreciated before, because it would have been in your power to review the sentence passed by the Court Martial which committed him to military detention instead of civil imprisonment. You admit in your letter that the Court Martial was wrong in taking the view that as a political objector he was not entitled to a tribunal hearing."

"In view of these mistakes, may I urge upon you that the only fair thing is at once to remit Harry Harrison's sentence of military detention? I think you will agree that the whole case has been seriously prejudiced by the wrong interpretation placed upon his objection by the Court Martial, an interpretation which appears to have been endorsed by the War Office until this moment. When those in authority make mistakes of this character, it seems to me that the only right course is to take immediate steps to remove the effects of what has been wrongly done. I hope therefore that you will take the very earliest action to remit the rest of Harry Harrison's sentence."

Everyone who has followed the recent fortunes of Harry Harrison will join with Fenner Brockway in expressing the hope that the Secretary of State for War will see that mistaken decisions in his department are not upheld at the expense of the victims of those mistakes.

ROCKET TRIALS IN AUSTRALIA

THE Press is actively engaged in discrediting the pacifist opposition in Australia to these proposals. A full report of the protest meetings which have been held, and other moves by the Australian PPU will appear in next week's Peace News.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

BRISTOL. Friends' Meeting Hse., Broad Weir, Fri., May 30, 7.30 p.m. "Peace-making in the Atomic Age." Dr. Alex Wood.

LONDON. W.C.1, 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures, every Sun., 7.30. May 25: No Meeting, June 1: "Palestine—An Eye-Witness Account," Albert Meltzer. London Anarchist Group.

SHEFFIELD. 22 Newbold Lane. Mon., June 2, 7.30 p.m. Spkr.: Tony Bishop, Australian Pacifist Editor.

WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH. Duke St., W.1. Bond St. Tube. "The Gospel of Peace!" Sun. evenings at 6.30. Social hr. follows.

ACCOMMODATION

HOUSE (BUY/RENT) requd. Anywhere outer N. London. Attractive flat available in exchange; Southgate, 3 rms., kitchenette, etc. Urgent! Offers to Mister, c/o Peace News.

C.O. SCHOOLMASTER. wife, child, urgent reqs. flat, hse, bungalow, anywhere 50 miles London. Box 695.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

DEVON'S LOVELY valley. Early and late vacancies. Perry, Gara Mill Guest House, Slapton, Kingsbridge, South Devon.

INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP League Holiday Centre, Woodlands, Camberley (on edge of Bagshot Heath), Aug. 9–Sep. 6, £3 10s. weekly. Enquiries and bookings to Fred Cardwell, 30 Deauville Mansions, S.W.4.

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SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, or visit) £s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 22 Primrose Hill Rd., London. N.W.1. PRImrose 5486.

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NYLON PARACHUTE Material. All new long panels, white only, ideal for curtains, undies, nighties, dresses, blouses. No coupons. Price 25s. parcel, postage 8d. Celic & Co., Dept. 774, Chestnut Ave., Bedford.

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WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Hnfield.

RAYON SILK Parachute Material. no coupons, long panels, no cross seams, heavy weight, ideal for making dresses, undies, curtains. Beautiful pastel shades, Deep Rose, Maroon, Canary, Gold, Sea Green, Turquoise (please state second choice). Price 30s. parcel, postage 8d. Celic & Co., Dept. 774, Chestnut Ave., Bedford.

LITERATURE, &c.

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QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practices of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

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CONSCRIPTION — OPPOSITION must be urged to non-pacifists as well as pacifists. The alleged arguments against this have all been refuted but answers cannot be printed for lack of space. Box 693.

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A new kind of isolation for U.S.

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

Right and Left with Gen. de Gaulle waving the banner of anti-Communism aloft. Why, in fact, with all the wide-eyed innocence and friendliness which Mr. Stalin showed to Mr. Stassen, do the Russian delegates to all international conferences, be they in Moscow, at Flushing Meadows, Geneva or anywhere else, perform in such a manner as to nullify all the bright prospects which those conferences hold out?

On the economic plane

TO arrive at an answer to these questions one must be as subtle as the diplomats. The criterion of personal morality will not do. But this is no new phenomenon; it is as old as diplomacy and is part of a diplomat's training.

When Mr. Stalin says that of course the two systems can live together, he is talking on the economic plane. It is only the uninitiated who suppose that he is talking in general terms. The Soviet Government is constantly trying to borrow money off the United States like everyone else. We have just heard that a British trade delegation has had noteworthy success in Moscow. An Anglo-Polish economic and financial rapprochement has been arrived at and, we hear, there will be no obstacles placed in the way of an extension of Anglo-Balkan trading.

For ideological purposes it does not matter one jot if wheat is grown under capitalism or Communism; a chisel can be as sharp under either. They can be freely exchanged over the party wall and the simultaneous existence of the exchangers never questioned.

The evaded issue

IT is altogether a different matter when it comes to politics, and it is here that the conferences come to grief. One cannot, with any justification, be classed as "anti-Russian" or "anti-Communist" by simply recognising the plain fact that not only is Stalin head of the most powerful national political machine in the world, but master of an international political organisation which has the deepest interest in every nation state in the world—to put it mildly.

Mr. Stassen wants to discover if Mr. Stalin will put a limit to the activities of his agents not only in America, but throughout Europe and Asia. That is what is uppermost in his mind. Only on these terms can Russia, Britain and America live together in harmony. But the interview shows that Mr. Stalin has evaded this one all-important issue which is, in fact, at the bottom of the present international unrest. To come to agreement on this would be to knock the bottom out of all the present antagonisms.

Mr. Stassen, like Mr. Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Bevin, a host of politicians and diplomats, to say nothing of Tom, Dick and Harry, are looking for something beyond mere promises of co-operation. They want the realities from Mr. Molotov and Mr. Gromyko.

The only deduction

THE deduction is now being drawn that the Soviet Government has an interest in maintaining a hostile world. Indeed, hardly any other deduction is possible. If this is true, then there must be a reason for it. Only one holds water—that the Russian people have to be kept in a feeling of insecurity to justify the maintenance of the present restrictive regime. That is a very discouraging, not to say wicked, state of affairs. It is a purposeful attempt at isolation which can come near to wrecking any sort of civilised existence in Europe or elsewhere.

Those are hard words, perhaps, but I believe they are truthful ones. They do not mean that I, or anyone else who expresses himself in this

way, is advocating war with Russia.

To what have we to look forward? With Russia in a co-operative mood, relieving the world of its doubts about the subversive nature of the ubiquitous Communist parties, we could come as near to peace as ever we have. Without Russia—and that is the way we must reckon now—it is still possible to patch up a system under which we can live for a space. Practically everything depends upon the mood in which America approaches the problem of intervention in Europe.

U.S. to pay the bill

MR. DEAN ACHESON, before he resigned his post in the State Department, told America bluntly that "until the various countries of the world get on their feet and become self-supporting, there can be no political or economic stability in the world, and no lasting peace or prosperity for any of us," and gave his country to understand that it would cost them a vast expenditure to accomplish that end. Mr. Marshall has given similar warnings, and is trying to direct American policy so that it is not merely the negation of Communism, but a positive contribution to the re-settlement of Europe. How far he will succeed is problematical.

With the removal of the power of the British Empire, which stood for so long as the dominating world influence, she is left on her own, the mightiest nation, to challenge a power which is second, only to her. Small wonder that American brows are sweating with doubt and fear. Every shade of political belief, from the outright Communist, through the Wallace group to those who would unashamedly plaster Russia with atom bombs and be hanged to the consequences, is in conflict.

Besieged by beggars

YET it is possible, even at this early date, to discern a pattern which might crystallise into a constructive purpose. Above the hubbub of party strife Americans will keep an ear cocked for sagacious counsel; and that counsel is not lacking.

Vast sums of money have already been paid out; greater sums are on call; and the eventual disbursements, if policy is not tamed and co-ordinated, will be of a staggering magnitude. There is hardly a country not importuning America at the moment for loans, credits, gifts, commodities and economic solace of all varieties. The beggars are at every door and rattling all the handles. A loan to one keeps him quiet for five minutes—and no longer. Soon he is back again, bolder, and rattling the handle more vigorously.

Indirect benefit to USSR

WHAT must America do? I would predict one course. In the full knowledge that she has got to pay up for her own self-interest she may—and perhaps will—forego the luxury of endless individual gifts, and organise the beggars of Europe into a coherent body. She may—and perhaps will—tell them to add up their total indebtedness and present her with the bill—but not before they have lessened it by the extent of their own mutual trading. Thus, Europe's collective needs would be considerably less than those of the isolated and individual nations.

It is this that American sagacity dictates—a positive contribution to European salvation. It could not, even by Russian standards of propaganda, be interpreted as a "gang up" against the Soviet system for the reason that the USSR and all the countries that cluster round her perimeter, would have the opportunity of participation. They would stay outside at their own economic peril. Indeed, from what we know of Russia's internal economic distress, participation would afford her the only possible chance of putting herself on a parity with America, which is her one and only aim.

Mr. Bevin has announced that the next conference in London will be the most vital in the history of the world. The formalities then may well have their importance. The most vital time is here and now.

Next week's commentator:
BRUCE ODSBUR

LETTERS

Dr. Soper's optimism

ONE wonders whether Dr. Soper does not claim too much when he says "that the only organisation in the world that can outlaw war is the Christian Church." Perhaps, however, it is not necessary to discuss this claim as it is obvious that the Christian Church will do no such thing. In fact, I suggest that with the exception of Quakers, the Church is drifting in the opposite direction. As evidence of this, one need only mention:

1. That the Church has not yet condemned the Japanese atom-massacres;
2. That the Church is uncritical about the use of "bigger and better" atom bombs in a righteous cause, to quote the Commission of the Churches, "Until atomic power has been brought under effective international control . . . it is desirable that superiority in power should be in the hands of those who may be counted upon to use it for no other purpose than as a deterrent."
3. That no denomination of the Church, except Quakers, has opposed peace-time conscription.

One hopes with Dr. Soper that one day the whole Church will stand where he stands, but the prospects are remote.

WALLACE HANCOCK.

21 Raymond Avenue,
London, E.18.

Setting an example

MAY I associate myself with Eric S. Tucker's conscientious objection, stated in his letter to Peace News of May 2, to the AGM resolution on conscription, and endorse the reasons he gives for his attitude? I would like at the same time to add to them a further consideration.

In spite of the shock which the introduction of peace-time conscription for military service by the Labour Government of our country has caused, recognition of the rights of conscientious objection is a precious liberal heritage, an acknowledgment of the principles for which we as pacifists stand.

Most other Governments throughout the world are not willing to concede this recognition. If only for the sake of setting a relatively enlightened example to other less liberal Governments, and in support of our friends living under them who would prize so highly the legal right to state their conscientious objection to military service, as we are able to do, I could not myself feel justified in refusing compliance so far as registration is concerned.

Any decision against further compliance at later stages would remain a matter for the individual conscience.

CORDER CATCHPOOL.

49 Parliament Hill,
London, N.W.3.

Plain "objection"

ERIC TUCKER piles up adjectives to little effect in his indictment of the AGM conscription resolution. It is unfortunate that the word "conscientious" ever was tied up with the objection to war, since it leads people

UNITED EUROPE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Churchill got all the ovations. On rising to bow for the third time after speaking, he rounded off his performance with the V-sign; and at the close, this great gathering for internationalism rose and devoutly sang the National Anthem.

The Resolution was carried by the vast audience with only two "No's." How did I vote? I did not. I cannot orab by opposition anything that might hold seeds of good. If they prove worthy, let them grow.

But The Times, in spite of its Churchill-worship, says he was less explicit than he might have been; and the column-and-a-half of its first leading article has a refreshing candour and detachment that was missing from the meeting. "United Europe can only mean, as things are, Europe united without Russia; United Europe can only mean United Western Europe."

The article refers to Walter Lippmann's proposed European economic union for reconstruction, sustained by American finance on lend-lease terms, a plan "bold, precise and more promising than Mr. Churchill's"; and concludes: "Were such a scheme ever proposed and rejected, then it would be time for the Government to turn seriously to the task of uniting as much of Europe as they could." I agree. It is the better alternative.

like Eric Tucker to believe that it must necessarily be an unreasoning and unreasoned faith.

Some of us may have had visions like St. Paul but most conchies reached their position by the use of argument and logic. If then we can show a young lad of conscription age that it is more logical to resist the Act than to comply, we shall only be teaching a technique of resistance and we should not incur Eric Tucker's stale, overworked epithets: "unrealistic," "tragic" "irresponsible," etc.

ROGER R. RICHMOND.

20 Oakdene Road,
Orpington, Kent.

Vigilance

THE Prime Minister has just refused to adopt a suggestion made in the House at Question Time, that he should, by legislation, prohibit smoking in certain times and certain places, and so ease the dollars-tobacco situation. It would not be right to tell people when and where they must not smoke.

Let us be thankful that we have a Government so vigilant in guarding our fundamental liberties and that it is only in such trifling matters as Army service and training to kill, must we be told what to do.

ROGER PAGE.

For help given

FROM various letters recently received by me I was pleased to note that you had published my appeal for co-operation.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude. You see, every outstretched hand helps in the difficult task of creating world-citizens from a generation raised on a diet of racial hatred, national egoism, and intolerance.

These young minds simply cannot find their way unaided, and it seems such a hopeless task to try breaking through that wall of pessimism that confronts one on all sides, unless backed by the voices of goodwill and sympathy from beyond the frontiers.

This time Humanity cannot afford to muddle through—we must make a concerted effort to beat the atom in the race for world supremacy.

E. J. T. DIENER.

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (German Peace Society), Godesberg Branch.
44 Rolandstrasse, (22c) Bad Godesberg,
North Rhine Province, British Zone of Occupation.

NEWCASTLE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

THE Newcastle No Conscription Committee has been active during recent months in local campaigning.

Many thousands of the NCC's leaflets have been distributed, two successful public meetings have been held—on Mar. 24 and Apr. 25, and a lively debate sponsored jointly by the committee and the Newcastle East Labour Party took place on April 13. The subject was: "Is Conscription necessary?" Arthur Blenkinsop, M.P., supported, and Mark Sadler opposed the continuation of conscription.

At the public meetings Dr. A. D. Belden and John McNair were among the speakers and resolutions were passed affirming "absolute and unqualified opposition to the Government's Bill" and pledging "to exert every effort to secure the complete abolition of conscription." Copies of the resolution were sent to local MPs, local organisations and the Press.

The Committee would be glad to hear from anyone interested in the Campaign—the secretary is Tom Lang, 10, Eaglescliffe Drive, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 7.

CAMP SITE WANTED

DOES anyone know of a farmer, within 40-50 miles of London, who would be willing to lend a barn or outhouse to a small group of campers during the summer months? They are children of nine years and over, who will be in the care of the Stepney Pacifist Service Unit. The Unit has given many East End children a country holiday in this way, in previous years, but the old site is no longer available, and a new one urgently needed. Write to Arthur T. Collins, Stepney PSU, 6-355, The Highway, E.1.

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